

Rockwell Kent Backs Cleveland Socialist Parley

NOV. 16 — Enthusiasm and mounting support from across the country has greeted the call for a National Conference of American Socialists to convene in Cleveland, Nov. 28-30.

A list of additional sponsors for the conference was announced today by Eric Reinthaler, conference secretary. They include: Rockwell Kent, James Aronson, Scott Nearing, Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, Terry Pettus, Carl Haessler, Reuben Borough, Dr. A. J. Lewis, Herbert Rosenfeld, Milton Zaslow, Martin Hall, Carl Feingold and Leo Gallagher.

Registration and checking in of delegates will take place all day Friday, Nov. 28, at conference headquarters, Tudor

Arms Hotel, Carnegie at E. 107 St., Cleveland, Ohio.

PROPOSED AGENDA
The proposed agenda of the conference calls for an informal reception Friday night at the Tudor Arms and the convening of the conference Saturday morning promptly at 9 A.M., with the first session devoted to "electoral activity and the advancing of labor's independent political action." This will be followed by a panel discussion on the issue of peace and a session on civil rights and civil liberties.

Saturday evening there will be a buffet supper followed by a public session of the conference with Harvey O'Connor, Vincent Hallinan, John T. McManus, Joseph P. King and Annette T. Rubinstein as participants in the program, plus folk singer Earl Robinson.

The wind-up session Sunday morning will be devoted to the question of "Where Do We Go From Here?"

The Conference Committee assures that "all sessions of the conference will be organized to guarantee maximum discussion and participation by those attending." "Socialists of all tendencies who are considering attending the conference are urged to make advance registrations if at all possible."

There is an urgent need for financial help to defray the cost of the conference. Send registrations (with \$2 registration fee) and contributions to: Eric J. Reinthaler, Conference Sec'y, 177 East 316th St., Wilkowitz, Ohio.

The call to the Conference (Continued on Page 2)

Featured Speaker



John T. McManus, General Manager of the National Guardian, will speak at the National Conference of American Socialists when it meets in Cleveland Nov. 28.

Best Week for Fund; Banquet Nets \$700

By George Lavan

The best week so far — that is what the statistics of the Militant's 30th Anniversary Fund show on this score-board. The sum of \$1,935 in checks, money orders and cash dropped into the fund's coffers out of letters from near and far, from individuals and groups. Out of one envelope fluttered a donation of 56 cents worth of air mail stamps.

The other big news this week is that Militant supporters in Oakland have already crossed the finish line and intend to keep going. Oakland zoomed from 18th place on the score-board last week to a lofty 105%. Not satisfied, they simultaneously asked us to change their quota from the previous \$300 to \$340 (those people just don't care how much clerical work they make for us in this office).

After considerable discussion pro and con, we decided to accede to Oakland's somewhat unorthodox request. Such a precedent, of course, gives us no choice but to grant the same favor to all others requesting it. But please — a little restraint! Just consider the extra clerical work, to say nothing of all the addition, long division, calculus and general havoc it puts us to.

The lion's share — \$911 — of this week's contributions came from Los Angeles. Bob Strauss, the local fund director, sends an excellent account of a double anniversary banquet which made this possible. The banquet celebrated the 41st anniversary of the October Revolution and the 30th birthday of the Militant.

"Opening the program, the chairman, William F. Warde, pointed out that, despite the difference in historical magnitude, the October Revolution of 1917 and the launching of the Militant in 1928, had certain features in common. Both actions came about through the initiative of Marxists animated by the same fundamental ideas and world outlook.

"The first speaker, Arne Swaback, further developed this theme. Both of these events, he recalled, represented decisive turning points in his personal, political life. The victory of the Russian Revolution served to reorient the political direction of his whole generation. In founding the Militant, he and his (Continued on Page 3)

THE MILITANT

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Housing Bias Hits 27 Million

The Commission on Race and Housing, a private research organization, reported on Nov. 9 that 27 million Americans are not free to live in neighborhoods of their choice because of race, color or ethnic reasons. Of these, 18.7 million are nonwhite (95% of them Negro), 5 million Jews, 2.5 million of Mexican ancestry and 800,000 Puerto Ricans. The report pointed out that federal housing policies that permit discrimination have led to increasing segregation in public housing. The Commission was composed of business executives from the North and the South. Its research was financed by the Fund for the Republic.

Socialist Vote Reported in Five States

The socialist vote in 1958 is slow in being reported. Socialist campaign committees in the various states are still trying to pry their votes from their respective election boards. In Minnesota and Pennsylvania there is indications of modest increases over 1956.

But it was not only the vote that socialist campaigners looked for the measure of their achievements this year. It was also to the scope of their campaigning as measured by amounts of radio and TV time, number of union meetings at which they spoke, size of audiences at street meetings, and to a greater interest in socialist ideas they saw manifested this year.

SOCIALIST VOTE
In New York State, on the basis of unofficial returns from 48 of 62 counties, the Independent-Socialists now have over 41,000 votes for Corliss Lamont, candidate for U.S. Senate, and nearly 27,000 for John T. McManus, candidate for Governor.

In Minnesota, where the Socialist Workers Party ran William Curran for the U.S. Senate, the final SWP vote was 5,407. The Socialist Labor Party polled 10,858.

In Chicago's Second Congressional District, Rev. Joseph P. King, United Socialist candidate, received 925 votes in the face of a sweep of landslide proportions for the Democratic incumbent, Barrett O'Hara. An initial united socialist endeavor, the King forces, like the ISP in New York, had to wage a major struggle against the "pro-labor" O'Hara machine to win a place on the ballot.

PENNA. VOTE
The Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Party, whose ballot designation was "Workers Party," has not yet obtained its statewide returns. In Philadelphia, it received the following vote: 906 for Ethel Peterson, candidate for the U.S. Senate; 699 for Herbert Lewin and Eloise Fickland, candidates for Governor and Lt.-Governor; 707 (Continued on Page 2)

Score FHA For Refusing To Fight Bias

Clark Foreman, Director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, on Nov. 14 denounced the refusal of the Federal Housing Authority to push a fight against racial discrimination in residential building and renting.

In a telegram to President Eisenhower Foreman declared, "Albert M. Cole, Administrator of Housing and Home Finance Agency, is quoted in today's New York Times as saying that he believed the Federal Government had no responsibility to promote the ending of racial discrimination in residential accommodations. If this report is accurate it is another example of the abandonment by the Administration of its responsibility in carrying out the spirit of the Supreme Court's unanimous decision in the Brown case." The ECLC urged the Federal Government to assume its full responsibility in setting an example of integration for the rest of the country.

Dixiecrats to Keep Key Congress Posts

Face a Long, Cold Winter



There are still long lines at the New York unemployment offices despite the business upturn. Any reduction in the number drawing unemployment benefits is due, in large part, to the jobless exhausting their benefit right. In September 383,000 ran out of regular or extended unemployment insurance payments.

Socialist Political Action In Light of '58 Elections

An Editorial

United socialist electoral activity was tested in the 1958 elections, principally in New York State. How did it fare? What conclusions are to be drawn about its validity? Has it realistic prospects for 1960?

We believe that the tryout was a success and that serious consideration should be given to broadening united socialist electoral activity on a nationwide basis looking toward a united socialist ticket in 1960.

As to the achievements of the Independent-Socialist Party in New York in this year's campaign, we concur with the National Guardian, which like ourselves supported the ISP slate. The ISP, says the Nov. 17 Guardian, "had three proud feathers in its cap: (1) a smashing victory over Tammany in its petition fight; (2) the introduction of meaningful issues as widely as possible in an otherwise no-issues contest between two millionaire-led political machines; and (3) beginnings of socialist unity in New York."

Beginning of a Process

To this we would add: the ISP set an example of working-class political opposition to the Big Business parties. This is the beginning of a process that must culminate eventually in similar action by the entire class.

The platform of the ISP, because it was based on minimum agreement of differing tendencies, had inevitable defects. In our opinion. But it was an approach to the kind of socialist platform that is needed on the American scene. Through further discussion and evaluation of the campaign experience the differences of opinion can gradually be resolved and a more adequate socialist program can be hammered out.

TV and Radio Time

The ISP radio and TV time set a record for socialists in New York, the highlight being the four-way debate among gubernatorial candidates over CBS-TV on Oct. 25. The full text of the debate was also published in the New York Herald Tribune.

The vote (still not completely tallied but estimated at 30,000 for John T. McManus and at 45,000 for Corliss Lamont) was impressive.

It was the highest vote for a socialist since the 1930's. It was won under

great difficulties. These difficulties probably prevented the ISP from reaching the 50,000 mark and permanent ballot status that the party aimed for. The most important of these handicaps were the maneuvers employed by Secretary of State Carmine De Sapio to keep the ISP off the ballot. The ISP defeated the Tammany boss in an unprecedented victory. But it was achieved only ten days before Nov. 4. That left the ISP ten days in which to campaign. The turnout under those circumstances — and in face of opposition to the ISP from leaders of the Communist, Socialist and Socialist Labor Parties — was excellent.

Workers Sought Reforms

Under the best of conditions, furthermore, the scope of the response to the socialist ticket would have been sharply circumscribed by the thinking of the working people at this stage. Some recruits to socialism were made and more could have been made had the ISP had more time and resources to campaign. But the day for a big socialist vote was not yet at hand.

The American working people showed dissatisfaction in the election. They showed great anger at unemployment and anti-labor attacks. They wanted a change in foreign policy away from the menace of war. But they were not ready to embrace socialist solutions. To listen to such solutions, yes. Socialist campaigners throughout the country report a greater interest in socialist ideas than in previous campaigns. Many workers are willing to consider and discuss the socialist alternative — if only for future reference.

But in the main, even the most politically advanced workers outside the radical movement sought reforms and not fundamental change. They still hoped to realize these reforms through the workings of the capitalist two-party system and more particularly through electing Democratic Party candidates endorsed by the union officials.

Does the fact that no significant new sections of the working class were ready to go over to socialism mean that the socialist election ventures in 1958 went for nothing? That the example of independence set by the ISP and other socialist tickets throughout the country was a meaningless gesture? That "taking the census" of the socialist-minded workers

(Continued on Page 3)

Northern Democrats Accepting Leadership Of Johnson, Rayburn

What may be realistically expected from the incoming overwhelmingly Democratic Congress is revealed by two items. (1) Immediately following election day the

stock market took off like a sky rocket. The Wall Street boom is so spectacular that it has become front-page news and even the President of the Stock Exchange is calling for restraint. (2) AFL-CIO President George Meany's public statements deliberately minimize labor's role in bringing about the Democratic sweep.

The precise line and tone that the Democratic 86th Congress will adopt cannot yet be determined because the jockeying between its disparate elements — labor-backed liberals, big city machines and Southern racists — has not yet resulted in a compromise or deal.

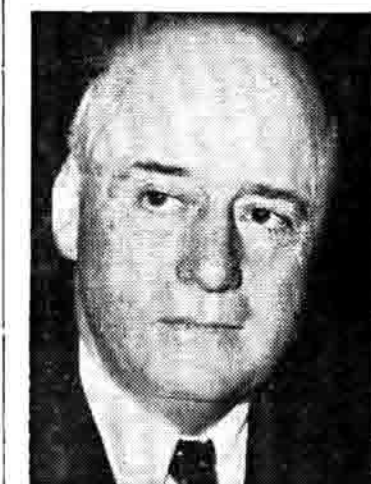
The South is still firmly in the saddle through its chairmanships of most of Congress's powerful standing committees, though the increased numbers of Northern Democrats may force a little shortening of the stirrups. These Northerners (including an increased number of liberal Republicans) are publicly committed to some action on civil rights.

RULE 22

It is hard to see how they can avoid changing Senate Rule 22 which permits the filibuster. Barring an open sell-out as in 1955, in which Senators Humphrey, Douglas et al should have learned a lesson, or a rotten "compromise" which the Southerners are now seeking, the filibuster should be abolished at the beginning of this Congress for the promised votes are there in sufficient number.

To make a "record" on which to garner workers' votes in the 1960 Presidential elections, the Northern Democrats are expected to propose more social legislation. How much of this is to be actually passed and how much, if any, passed over Eisenhower's veto, is one of the

Democratic Whip



Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn of Texas will continue to direct the House Democrats when the 86th Congress convenes in January.

big wrangles now going on in the back room between Northern Democrats and Congress's two plantation overseers from Texas — Senate boss Lyndon Johnson and House boss Sam Rayburn.

Congressional criticism of the cold-war will not be basic and apparently much less than some thought likely. The tip-off was Democratic chief Johnson's appearance in the UN for the administration. There he backed to the hilt State Dept. opposition to the Soviet proposal of banning military use of outer space. Johnson will next go to Mexico for Dulles to confer with President Lopez Mateos. As for the cold-war arms buildup, the disposition of most Democrats in Congress is to attack the administration for "too little and too late."

36,500 on Strike At Int'l Harvester

CHICAGO, Nov. 14 — The International Harvester strike is now in its second day, 36,500 United Auto Worker members have shut 15 manufacturing plants and 21 other facilities across the country. In Chicago, four plants and 12,200 workers are on strike. Two thousand pickets massed at the big Chicago Tractor plant at 6 A.M. yesterday.

Strike Bulletin Volume One, Number One, issued jointly by Locals 1301 and 1382, UAW, reported that Pat Greathouse, International Vice-President, presented the union's demands to the company. "The demands were not earth-shaking," stated the Bulletin. "They were simply some of the gains negotiated by our Union with John Deere and the auto industry which was the pattern, plus an extension of our present contract."

Strikers from the picket line report that negotiations broke off when the company insisted upon denying work standards that had been won when the union was organized 20 years ago. The company is seriously trying to replace plant-wide with "zone" seniority. This would enable it to keep militant unionists out of the shop indefinitely—even if they have long seniority—by manipulating the "zone" provision. The right to be absent on sick leave for one year without loss of seniority is now to be reduced to six months, if the company has its way.

The union's "Negotiations Newsletter," issued just before the strike lists the "medieval" demands of the I-H Company. Under the "zone" seniority, "nobody could get out of a foundry and nobody could get into skilled trades." "Promotions and transfers would be limited to departments." The new seniority law would be by "skill and ability," and the company would be "judge, jury, and Supreme Court." "Grievance procedure would go back to the busted-strike days of 1952."

The right of overrates "to hold on to their overrate if bumped would be taken away." The Company is also holding out for a cut of 10% in the night bonus, and the right to work the employees two, three, or four days a week as they see fit. (The present contract guarantees five days work a week except for emergencies.) "All in all 13 major changes for the worse and a number of minor contract impairments" are being demanded by the company.

The I-H strike follows on the heels of a settlement with I-H's next largest competitor, the John Deere Company. The union characterizes the Deere settlement as "smashing through with some 40 contract improvements and an economic pattern that is above the package negotiated for the auto big three." I-H is considered to be the "only company in the industry, in fact the only major company in the country that is demand-

(Continued on Page 4)



People's World Fails to Follow Through

By Myra Tanner Weiss

The editors of the People's World, which generally expresses the viewpoint of the Communist Party on the West Coast, addressed themselves, Nov. 8, to the question "what next" after the 1958 elections. They correctly made their point of departure the victory of the working people of California against the Big Business-inspired "right to work" campaign. They urged that "The enthusiasm generated by the smashing defeat of 'right to work' and Knowland should not be permitted to dissipate. All efforts should be made to channel it into independent political action by labor and its allies."

The PW editors warn that the victorious Democrats are prone to "indecision, compromise and surrender to the very pressures against which the people voted." "More fundamentally," they say, "big business attentions and favors will be increasingly lavished on the party... We have witnessed such a development in California. As Edmund G. Brown gained in his race against Knowland, so did he gain big money adherents, including the Hearst press." Whereupon Brown watered down the issues, says PW.

It would seem from these warnings that the People's World is urging a struggle to end labor's political subservience to the Democratic machine. It would seem that it considers the time ripe for pressing for a labor party.

Unfortunately, that is not the case. In the same editorial PW also asks for strengthening the Democratic Clubs and strengthening of the Negro and Mexican-American minority bloc "within the Democratic Party."

More of the Same?

This kind of "independent political action" is not new. Labor has been "independent" in this fashion since mass industrial unions were organized in the 1930's. By asking for such "independent" action on the part of the labor movement, the editors of the People's World, are merely asking the workers to continue as before—as an "independent" appendage to the Democratic machine, garnering votes for capitalist politicians in return for the privilege of begging or pressuring them for a few modest, but still denied, concessions.

The Militant agrees with the editors of the Peoples' World that we must press for "independent political action by labor and its allies." To do this, socialist and communist workers in the union movement should take advantage of every opportunity to explain the enthusiasm engendered by labor's independent campaign on the issue of "right-to-work" propositions. The potentialities of organized labor, as seen in this campaign, should free the working class of its feeling of political impotence.

Discussions should be encouraged in the shops, in union meetings and in special conferences on the lessons of the fight against anti-labor laws. The program and political demands of labor should be discussed. We should advance the idea that the unions should put up candidates of their own to run for public office—independent of the old parties. In some areas this is not an unrealistic perspective for the next local elections.

The formation of an independent labor party—like the formation of industrial unions in the 1930's—will not appear out of the clear blue sky. It must be considered, first by politically advanced workers, agitated for, explained patiently, and presented simply. The next two years will provide ample material to press home the need for labor's own political party.

Let's Show the Way

The work of socialists and communists in the union movement can be greatly aided by the united efforts of their parties in socialist election campaigns. The campaign of the Independent-Socialist Party in New York and similar campaigns elsewhere marked a beginning. They can accelerate the inevitable process of extending class-consciousness of workers to the political arena.

As socialist-minded workers our task is to point the way to a solution. The labor bureaucrats cannot forever block the road to working class politics. They couldn't stem the tide of industrial unions in the 1930's. And they will be unable to keep the workers out of politics as an independent class force forever.

In reality the policy of working "within the Democratic Party" means abandoning even education for the formation of a labor party. The confusion of the People's World editorial demonstrates this fact. How much more progress could be made if all who favor such a perspective would work for it openly, without fancy stratagems that end up burying even the smallest beginnings.

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Peace Issue in the Nov. 4 Vote

By Harry Ring

A few days after the election, a Democratic politician in Washington told the New York Post that popular opposition to the Administration's foreign policy was undoubtedly a factor in the Democratic Party's sweep on Nov. 4. "We'd only mention Quemoy and Matsu, but people seemed to get the point," he said.

The real point is obvious enough. Democratic candidates, sensing the widespread uneasiness and fear created by brinkmanship, would holler, "And what about Quemoy and Matsu?" and then leave the issue quickly before anyone could get to ask where they actually stood on the question of the off-shore Chinese islands.

NOT 6 DEMOCRATS

The important thing that emerges from this is not merely the well-known fact that capitalist politicians are addicted to cheap demagoguery. The moral of the story, as borne out by the national 1958 election experience, is that the anti-war sentiment in this country

was unable to express itself through either major party. Across the country, there weren't half-a-dozen Democratic candidates who campaigned against the bi-partisan cold war. Working people who sought to express themselves for peace, within the framework of the two-party system, found themselves registering their opposition to the Administration's war program by voting for Democrats who stood for the very same thing—and often, more of it.

I think this fact alone more than justifies the united socialist efforts that were realized in the '58 elections—particularly the Independent-Socialist campaign in New York, the most extensive of such efforts. The ISP campaign was a significant act of spadework for the building of a vitally needed, meaningful alternative to the Big Business parties both of which are irrevocably bound to the perspective of eventual war against the Soviet bloc.

But, it may be argued, since there are many more people

committed to the cause of peace than there are to the cause of socialism, and since the prevention of an atomic holocaust is the crucial issue of our time, wouldn't the ISP have been more effective if it had limited itself to a "peace" campaign rather than a socialist one?

QUICK LOOK AT THE VOTE

This was the main argument made by the Communist Party leadership to justify its opposition to the ISP campaign. It is also the principal conclusion drawn by the CP leaders from a rather cursory examination of the ISP vote. The point is made by CP state secretary William Albertson in an analysis of the New York election results in the Nov. 16 Worker.

"Parenthetically," says Albertson, "the fact that John McManus, candidate for governor on the ISP ticket, received in New York City 23,538 votes while Corliss Lamont, candidate for the U.S. Senate, received 37,992 votes, indicates the correctness of the Communist position in that campaign."

"That position," he continues, "was that the Left should unite behind a single peace candidate, preferably Corliss Lamont, without encumbering him and the issue of peace with a full ticket and with the concept that it is necessary to embrace socialism in order to be for peace."

The ISP, of course, did not advance the nonsensical proposition that you have to be for socialism to be for peace. It did take the traditional socialist stand that the way to establish enduring peace is to abolish the capitalist system which breeds war. At the same time it hammered away at such crucial immediate issues as the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Middle East and Far East.

But to get back to the claim that the 14,000-vote spread between Lamont and McManus bears out that the CP was right all the time. The point might appear plausible had Lamont campaigned on a different platform than McManus, that is, had he confined his campaign to the issue of peace. But La-

mont campaigned as vigorously for socialism as McManus did. On what basis then can it be claimed that the 14,000 additional voters for Lamont were ready to "embrace" peace but not socialism?

CP DIDN'T ACCOUNT FOR THE DIFFERENCE

The reason for the difference in the vote is neither startling or difficult to establish. By the way, the difference was not due to the Worker's endorsement of Lamont, as some CP spokesmen would now imply. The Worker also endorsed Captain Mulzac, ISP candidate for Comptroller, and he led McManus by only 3,500 votes in New York City. Only a portion of these 3,500 votes can be credited to the Worker's endorsement of Mulzac, at that.

That McManus polled less than the rest of the slate follows the vote pattern over the years for minority tickets in New York and other states. There is always a certain number of people who want to register a protest vote but are reluctant to do so for the particular top office that is being most hotly and closely contested by the two major party candidates. These voters mark their ballot for the major party candidate they prefer to see in office and then register their general protest by voting for minor party candidates for other offices. In this election, the excitement was over the Rockefeller-Harriman contest for governor rather than the Keating-Hogan senatorial contest. Thus Lamont was favored by more voters than McManus.

Lamont was additionally favored because he was the most widely known personality on the ISP slate. But those voters who knew about Lamont's record of opposition to cold war—and in defense of civil liberties—also knew about his long record of advocating socialism. In their case, clearly, the peace-but-not-socialism issue would not apply.

REAL REASON

Actually, the CP leaders' real beef against the ISP is not its complaint that peace gets more votes than socialism. According to Albertson, the ISP "weakened the united struggle of the Left needed to help labor and the Negro people defeat Rockefeller." Or, to put it plainly, Lamont should have run as an "independent peace" candidate, concentrated his fire on Rockefeller, and thus helped hustle votes for Harriman. The proposition is based on the thoroughly false contention that it's possible to win the fight for peace

through the vehicle of the Democratic Party.

For socialists to accept this proposition means abandoning their fundamental convictions. Earlier, I said the ISP stood on the socialist principle that basically the struggle against war is the struggle against capitalism. For those who take the socialist analysis of contemporary society seriously, this is not abstract propaganda, but the keystone of an effective socialist peace policy.

SOCIALIST CONCEPTS

Some elementary and well-known socialist concepts need repeating. War and the threat of war in the 20th century arise from the irrepressible drive of imperialism to expand. The present Wall Street drive against the Soviet Union, China and the colonial world certainly demonstrates this.

Further, political parties dominated by the capitalist class and firmly committed to its system have no basis for opposing the capitalist war drive. The bi-partisan prosecution of the cold war certainly verifies this too.

If, then, these facts are correct, as socialists insist they are, doesn't it follow that an effective struggle against war must be directed against the system from which the war danger springs and against the political parties that execute capitalist policies? Doesn't it mean that above all else the fight for peace demands consistent work to build independent working-class political opposition to the capitalist war parties?

Such a stand by socialists does not imply abstention from specific anti-war struggles—no matter how limited the demands they raise. But socialists, if they are to be consistent with their convictions, have an added responsibility. They must show the link between every such struggle and the overall struggle against the capitalist order. There is no lack of sentiment for peace in this country or of a capacity to fight for it. What is lacking is an effective program and consistent leadership in the fight for peace. Who besides socialists, acting on their socialist principles, can provide that program and leadership?

NO HELP WANTED

Some 850 corporation executives, attending an American Management Association conference in New York City, indicated that stepped-up productivity will allow them to operate at pre-slump levels with their current working forces.

Campaigned Against Big Business Rule



Captain Hugh N. Mulzac (l), 1958 Independent-Socialist candidate for New York Comptroller, and Scott K. Gray, Jr., (r), I-SP candidate for Attorney General, hold dinner conversation with British Labor MP Harold Davies during his recent visit here. The I-SP candidates have expressed their support of the Cleveland united socialist conference and Davies has sent greetings to the gathering.

Harold Davies Greeted Parley in Cleveland

The sponsoring Committee of the National Conference of American Socialists which will meet in Cleveland, Ohio, November 28-30 to discuss and study problems of united socialist action, received greetings from British Labor Party Member of Parliament Harold Davies and from British Laborite journalist Sydney Hyam, BLP candidate for Member of Parliament from the Midlands.

Their message read in part — "Harold Davies and I wish to send greetings to the National Conference of American Socialists meeting in Cleveland. . . . We were delighted to hear of the results of the Nov. 4 elections, particularly in Ohio and California, but we recognize that the battle against anti-labor legislation and the China lobby is not won merely by exchanging illiberal capitalist senators for more liberal capitalist senators. We believe that there is no possibility of real world peace and prosperity until there are representatives of the American workers in control of the effective organs of Government in the United States. We know from our own experiences in Britain that there is little hope of such effective representation until the labor and Socialist movements are united"

URGES UNITY ON LEFT
The newly formed National Guardian Club of San Diego was addressed by Vincent Hallinan, Chairman of the California Socialist Political Action Committee. He denounced both major parties and urged unity among the independent leftist groupings. Professor Harry Steinmetz, noted civil rights fighter, chaired the meeting, which was attended by about 70 Guardian readers and progressives. The next meetings of the club will be held Nov. 21 and Dec. 5, at 4561 North Ave. 8 P.M.

... Cleveland Conference

(Continued from Page 1)
was sent to all socialists — organized and unaffiliated. It declared: "The November, 1958, elections have offered new opportunities for promoting socialist unity and revitalization. The experiences of a dozen areas confirm this. They are of sufficient scope and importance to warrant socialist interchange and analysis."

"In fact a genuine need has developed to find the time and place for socialists from all over America to convene and — with the November elections as a starting point — to ask and answer the question: Where do we go from here?"

WIDE RESPONSE

The call has evoked a wide, favorable response throughout the radical movement. Two groups, however, the Socialist Party-Socialist Labor Federation and the Socialist Labor Party, have refused to participate. Their reasons were basically the same as those given

for refusing to participate in the Independent-Socialist election campaign in New York.

The SLP repeated its long-held view that it alone represents socialism in America, with all others who lay claim to the word being imposters. The SP-SDF condemned the projected conference as "pro-Soviet."

The Communist Party has given no public indication of its attitude toward the conference. The Socialist Workers' Party is urging a maximum participation by socialists of all viewpoints.

SPONSORS

Original sponsors of the Call are: Rev. William T. Baird, Jerry Barrett, Bay Area Committee for the Cleveland Conference, Elmer A. Benson, Max Bedacht, Warren K. Billings, Clyde Carter, Jack Child, Winifred Chelstrom.

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FARM SURPLUS

It costs the taxpayer \$450,000 a day to store the 1.3 billion bushels of surplus wheat accumulated under the Government's agricultural policy.

Socialist Critics of Attack on Pasternak

The unbridled attack by the Soviet government against author Boris Pasternak for his novel, *Dr. Zhivago*, has brought forth strong criticism from socialists throughout the world. Especially important is the criticism of those who uphold the economic foundation and achievements of the Soviet Union and who combat the U.S. government's cold war against the USSR.

Thus Corliss Lamont, then Independent-Socialist candidate for Senator in New York, said in a Nov. 3 radio interview: "We can't imagine under the socialism that I am advocating — a democratic socialism — any such violation of freedom of speech as we have seen recently . . . in the Soviet Union in the case of Boris Pasternak and his novel. . . . And therefore I want to make it perfectly clear that I . . . reject entirely that kind of suppression for writers or for anybody else."

Lawrence Emery, writing in the Nov. 10 National Guardian, said:

"Pasternak himself seems to have done no worse than to have examined the meaning of his own life and the lives of many he knew in the possibly outmoded terms of his 19th Century precepts, as though he were trying to rescue an old trunkful of keepsakes from the attic of history."

"But the cultural world was stunned by the virulence of the attack against him. . . ."

"The thaw in intellectual freedom [in the USSR] seemed to have frozen over as deeply as before, and Pasternak himself — with his wife and three sons, a pianist, an engineer and a physics student — was not only deprived of any future livelihood but was invited to get out of his country and go back where he never came from."

AND SUPPRESSION HERE

I. F. Stone wrote in his weekly on Nov. 3:

"I read Pasternak's *Dr. Zhivago* with joy and admiration. In its sensitive pages one is back in the wonderful world of the 19th Century Russian novelists. He is a fine writer and a brave man; there are passages which, read against the background of Soviet realities, are of sublime courage. "But I find myself more and more annoyed by the chorus of Pasternak's admirers in this country. I do not remember that *Life Magazine*, which glorifies Pasternak, ever showed itself any different from the *Pravda-Kommunist* crowd in dealing with our own Pasternaks. . . ."

From England, Sean O'Casey, the great playwright, wrote in the Nov. 9 N. Y. Times: "Political fellas in the United States,

in the Soviet Union, in England — and especially in Ireland — everywhere in fact — political fellas run out and shout down any new effort to give a more modern slant or a new sign to any kind of artistic thought or imagination; menacing any unfamiliar thing appearing in picture, song, poem or play. They are fools, but they are menacing fools, and should be fought everywhere they shake a fist, be they priest, peasant, prime minister or proletarian. To discuss and argue about these things is fine and, if the discussion be sincere, can but lead to a wider knowledge of all things; but when hateful ignorance rushes out and tries to down the artist with a bawl, it is high time to cry a halt!"

In a trans-Atlantic telephone interview with the N. Y. Herald-Tribune (Nov. 16) O'Casey said: "I think it was a sad mistake to expel Pasternak. But I believe myself that the donation of the Nobel Prize had a political basis. . . . It was given to him for the wrong reason. . . . what makes me very bitter about this sort of thing is that there's no comment when other writers in other countries are persecuted."

The Nov. 1 Newsletter (London) said:

"Whatever views one may have about the merits, literary or other, of Boris Pasternak's novel 'Dr. Zhivago,' there can surely be only one possible reaction by socialists to the behavior of Soviet officialdom towards the author. "The abuse and penalization to which he is being subjected discredits socialism in the eyes of millions who still think the Soviet Union a socialist state. "How very different was the attitude to writers taken by the leaders of the October Revolution may be seen from Klara Zetkin's 'Reminiscences of Lenin' and Trotsky's 'Literature and Revolution.' A new edition of the latter appeared not long ago, and the Pasternak affair makes it most topical."

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TREASON CHARGE

France-Observateur, an independent socialist weekly publication published in Paris, wrote, Oct. 30: "Tuesday we learned the stupefying news: Pasternak expelled from the Soviet Writers' Union, deprived of 'the title of a writer' as if he were a frightened man could obliterate such a striking fact. The brutality of the language — which speaks of treason — recalls the worst moments of the Stalinist era when death was meted out to such a large number of intellectuals. . . . After Hungary, once more alas, we have evidence of the situation in which the writers and artists of the communist world are kept."

... 1958 Socialist Vote

(Continued from Page 1)
for Louis Shoemaker, for State Secretary of Internal Affairs.

In Michigan, New Jersey and Wisconsin, statewide candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are still awaiting their returns.

In the state of Washington, the United Liberals and Socialists Party, a new coalition effort similar to the New York and Chicago tickets, reports these returns: Jay Sykes, candidate for the U.S. Senate, 1,138 votes (incomplete); Clyde Carter, for State Representative in the 33rd District, 167; Jack Wright, for State Senator in the 37th District, 151; Thomas J. Barrett, for State Senator in the 32nd District, 118.

On the side of their activity and their response, socialist campaigners report the following:

In Washington State, the highlight was participation of the United Liberals and Socialists candidates in the Seattle campaign against Initiative 202, the "Right-to-Work" measure. There they helped in organizing a rally in the Negro community against the initiative and exposing those community spokesmen who had lent their backing to the reactionary bill. "Our vote," says an active campaigner, "was a conscious, deliberate vote for us which came from the precincts we did hard campaigning in and the friends we made through our campaign activity."

A Pennsylvania campaigner who participated in the SWP campaign in Philadelphia in 1958 and this year, reports a definite, observable increase of willingness to consider socialist ideas in that city. This was particularly true in the Negro community. The SWP vote in the city tripled over '56 and the final campaign rally this year was the largest and most successful yet.

In Chicago, Rev. King told a meeting of the Washington Park Forum that the United Socialist campaign was "a demonstration of how a few people with a clear program can reach thousands with a socialist message and put a socialist candidate on the ballot, despite all odds. "No one can deny this is an important step on the road to building for the socialist tomorrow," declared King as he urged a continuation of the Chicago effort. He also urged deepening ties with united socialist movements across the country "with a view toward a national socialist ticket in 1960."

Local Directory

BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. Every Sunday night, round table discussion, 8 P.M. Room 200.	NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, N.J.
BUFFALO Millitant Forum, 6310 Main St.	NEW YORK CITY Millitant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852.
CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 777 W. Adams, DE 2-9736.	OAKLAND-BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif.
CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party 10600 Superior Ave., Room 301, SW 1-1818. Open Friday nights 7 to 9.	PHILADELPHIA Millitant Labor Forum and Campaign Hdgtrs. Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave.
DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 9737 Woodward.	SAN FRANCISCO The Millitant, 1145 Polk St., Rm. 4. Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321.
LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St. AN 9-4953 or AN 3-1533. Book Shop open Mon. 7-9 P.M.; Wed. 8-10 P.M.; Sat. 12-5 P.M.	SEATTLE 655 Main St., MU 2-7139. Library, bookstore. Classes every Friday evening at 8 P.M. Open House following at 10:30 P.M.
MILWAUKEE 180 East Juneau Ave.	ST. LOUIS For information phone MO 4-7194.
MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party, 322 Hennepin Ave., 2nd floor. Open noon to 6 P.M. daily except Sundays.	

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Monday, November 24, 1958

...Socialist Political Action

(Continued from Page 1)

had no significance since socialism is not yet an issue in the thinking of the great majority of the working people?

To answer these questions in such a way as to deny the validity of socialist campaigns is to reckon without the basic trends operating in the country.

The Democrats in office will grant far less reforms than the working people who voted for them demanded. Furthermore as the crisis of capitalism becomes more severe, the demands of the working people will increase. The disparity between what the workers want and what they get will grow. Their disillusionment with the Democratic Party will lead them to organize for basic political change.

Only a part of this process, of course, may manifest itself by 1960. But socialism in America is not the outlook of a dim and faraway future, either.

The threat of war, another depression, inflation, a turn of Big Business to reaction looking to the installation of fascism—all these are lodged in American capitalist society today.

Class struggles will break out. A

movement within the ranks of labor for working class political independence will manifest itself. First hundreds of thousands, then millions, then tens of millions of workers will embrace the socialist program as social instability grows.

The tasks of socialists, we believe, is to prepare for these developments. Socialists should continue to regroup and unify their forces. They should develop a socialist program that fits the needs of the American working people. They should continue to educate for socialism, especially using their best forum—the election campaigns.

They should continue intransigently to oppose the Democrats and Republicans and to set the example of political independence from both big business parties at the polls.

This course of action will be the greatest service to the American working class that socialists can render. For it will aid the working class in drawing its own conclusions from the experience with the Democratic Party liberals and speed its break away from the capitalist two-party system.

The "Atomic Stalemate"

Some people believe the stupendous destructive power of H-Bombs has made war impossible and that "a balance of terror" assures peace. Such self-delusion was widespread in the 1920's about the "impossibility" of World War II.

Ex-Secretary of Air Finletter recently advised, "We had better stop consoling ourselves with the idea that the possibil-

ity of war has disappeared from the earth," the reality is "the war which looms so menacingly before us."

Throughout its history capitalism has bred wars. It has produced governments capable of exterminating millions in gas chambers, of incinerating the men, women and children of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Not only is it capable of a third world war, it is organically driven towards it.

Labor Did It Itself

Once again we return to the extremely important conclusions to be drawn from labor's fight against the misnamed right-to-work referendums. American workers can rejoice in their victory in defeating these laws in five out of six states. They should also draw some conclusions.

The "right-to-work" measures were not defeated by Democratic party machines, nor by liberal Democratic politicians carrying the ball for labor. For instance, in Ohio, Democratic Gubernatorial Candidate Mike DiSalle admits he did not campaign against RTW, and Sen. Frank Lausche (Democrat) supported the measure. If the workers had depended on the Democratic party they would have lost the fight.

Realizing this, labor campaigned on its own, independent of the party machines. Forming rank-and-file campaign committees, they mustered union locals into united fighting fronts to battle the open-shoppers.

First they mobilized hundreds of rank-and-file campaigners who carried the fight into the shops and the neighborhoods. Few of these voluntary election workers would have responded to an appeal from the Democratic party, but when called on by their unions they were willing to go out and campaign.

The union campaign committees were able to rouse thousands of workers from their apathy and get them to register and then to vote "No." Many who saw little difference between the various candidates,

were convinced by fellow unionists that their class interest was involved in the RTW issue.

Supporters of "right-to-work" had hoped to use the farm vote against labor. But union campaigners went to the farmers and convinced many of them that the same monopoly interests which squeezed the farmers were behind RTW. Working farmers, like Negroes and middle-class voters, responded to this appeal for solidarity with labor on this issue. In 70 out of 88 rural counties in Ohio, RTW was voted down; while in the 18 others the margin was very close.

Election figures prove that labor was able to bring out a vote on this issue in excess of the vote for the Democratic politician "friends of labor." In Ohio, Democratic Governor Mike DiSalle got 1,887,925 votes, whereas 2,007,467 voted against RTW. This meant that at least 119,365 extra voters were mobilized by labor's campaign on the "right-to-work" amendment.

All this shows that labor could elect its own candidates on a program that commanded the support of its members, working farmers, minority peoples and the lower middle class. Labor already has the human resources for the job. The framework of organization is partly in existence. There is no lack of real economic, social and political issues which the two capitalist parties keep out of elections. But the "labor statesmen" obtusely say "No." Isn't it about time for the ranks to get in on this conversation?

Visit of Ceylonese Trotskyists to China

(This is the second installment of an interview with Robert Gunawardena, central committee member of Ceylon's Lanka Sama Samaja Party, and a member of Parliament Tom Kerry, Organizational Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, conducted the interview. The LSSP, a Trotskyist party, is the country's largest working class party and is the official Opposition in Parliament. This installment deals further with the communal divisions in Ceylon and with the trip of five LSSP leading members to China in 1957. — Ed.)

Q. Now the form communalism takes in Ceylon is that of the language question? What is the LSSP position on this particular aspect of the communal question?

A. The LSSP took the stand that there should be a parity of both languages. That both Sinhalese and Tamil should be the official languages of the country. That Tamil should be given an official status, equal status, for the Tamil person to carry on his business and transactions with the government in it, and for the Sinhalese people to do likewise in their language. We find that in many countries there are four or five languages operating in government. That position should be given to the Tamil language.

OTHER DISCRIMINATION

Q. As a minority, do the Tamils suffer from any other forms of discrimination aside from language?

A. After this government came in and language was brought up as an issue, they

have suffered a lot.

Q. In what fields?

A. Well, in dominantly Sinhalese areas where they were living they have more or less given up the idea of staying as a result of the riots and are returning back to those areas that are mostly Tamil.

Q. In other words, tendencies toward segregation?

A. Yes, tendencies toward segregation.

Q. And this would of course, be an even deeper division between the people?

A. That is correct.

Q. The LSSP is committed, if it becomes a majority in the government, to adopt both Tamil and Sinhalese as the official languages?

A. Yes.

CHINESE GOVT. INVITES LSSP

Q. I understand the LSSP last year received an official invitation from both the government of the Soviet Union —

A. The LSSP received an official invitation from the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, not from the Soviet Union. From the Soviet Union there was also an invitation to the members of Parliament to come see the Soviet Union. That invitation was to the Parliament of Ceylon.

Q. The People's Republic of China issued an invitation directly to the LSSP?

A. Yes. When Prime Minister Chou En-lai came to Ceylon it was at the end of 1956 on the invitation of the Prime Minister of Ceylon. He moved about a lot in the country and I feel that he saw the strength of our party too at that stage. Then



Robert Gunawardena, Trotskyist member of Ceylonese Parliament, addresses Inter-Parliamentary Conference in Brazil last August.

he gave us an open invitation to the party to visit the People's Republic of China.

Q. Did he know when he issued the invitation that the LSSP was a Trotskyist organization?

A. Oh, yes. It was quite evident right through. During his stay in Ceylon we were having meetings, our press, our propaganda. There is no one who could fail to understand it was a Trotskyist organization.

Q. The LSSP accepted the invitation?

A. Yes. We accepted the invitation.

FIVE GO TO CHINA

Q. How many representatives of the LSSP visited China?

A. Five Central Committee members of the LSSP visited China.

Q. Including yourself?

A. Including myself. The

others were Dr. N. M. Perera, the leader of the Opposition (in Parliament); H. D. Alexander, the Secretary of the United Port Workers Union; D. G. Williams, the Secretary of Wholesale and Shop Employees Union; and Bernard Soysa, the Member of Parliament for Colombo South.

Q. How long did you spend in China?

A. I spent ten days. The rest of the delegates, nearly a month.

Q. To what extent, according to your observation, has the nationalization proceeded?

A. It has proceeded very good among the agricultural sector. We found that the landlords have been completely eliminated and that the peasantry have taken cooperatives, working in large blocs.

Q. In cooperatives, they do not work in collectives?

A. No collectives as yet.

Q. Then it is cooperation among small peasant producers on the land. Do they consider this as a step toward collectivization? What is their perspective in agriculture?

A. That is right. They consider that it is a progress on working with different small peasant blocs — it is a progress on that. But they do not yet visualize the collective system.

PEASANT SUPPORT

Q. Have they won the support of the peasantry on the basis of the division of the land and the elimination of the landlords?

A. Yes. They have definitely got the complete sympathy and support of the peasantry.

Q. The factory workers — do they have their own independent unions? Do they bargain with the employer or with the state? Just how do they defend their interests as workers?

A. As workers they have their unions and no one can be dismissed by the industrialists who control it yet. The industrial magnates more or less seem to be sort of managers at the moment.

Q. You mean Chinese industrial magnates?

A. Yes. We visited some factories and also the industrial magnates who are there yet — they threw a party for us. The industrial magnates have got a special association. We had a discussion with them too on their position.

Q. Are they comparable to the capitalists in the capitalist countries?

A. No.

Q. What is the difference?

LEGAL STATUS OF OWNERS

A. The difference there is that the state generally controls all the raw materials that are supplied to these factories and also the commodities produced have to be given to the state. The industrialists just get the bare margin of profit at the moment. When we discussed with them, they explained that by 1961 they would just disappear completely and the state would take over. Also the Prime Minister (Chou En-lai) and when we discussed it with him, Mao Tse-tung, head of the People's Republic, stated that position too. No worker can be dismissed by the industrialists. They more or less seem to be sort of managers at the moment. Still that has been developed perhaps. They are there till the workers come to a position to do special executive jobs. That is the position that I could understand at the moment.

Q. Do the workers exercise any control with management through any sort of committees in the factories? Or is it done done through representatives in the government?

A. They do exercise control in the factories.

Q. Through what medium?

A. Through their committees.

Q. Are these committees elected by the workers or are they appointed by the government?

A. There are some appointed by the government, mainly by the union itself.

Q. When you were in China did you have any opportunity of talking to any of the workers, the peasants, the people in China?

LANGUAGE BARRIER

A. In certain places we had. But the difficulty was the language. We had to go through an interpreter always.

Q. And what was the attitude expressed in such discussions?

A. They were fully with the state and government. They were fully cooperating at the moment.

Q. In your discussions with Chou En-lai did you discuss the political regime in China, that is, manifestations of bureaucracy, which they themselves have recently admitted exist?

A. We discussed about the bureaucracy that exists in both the Soviet Union and China. The reply in the talk we had was: some of us are old people — those tendencies do happen to develop in the older sections but as we get on, when the younger elements come, I think this will disappear. That was the answer to us.

Q. Was the question of Trotskyism ever raised in any of these discussions?

A. No. We could not raise the question of Trotskyism.

Q. Chou didn't raise it either?

A. No.

Advertisement

Again Available:

The Turn in the Communist International

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BY LEON TROTSKY

Written in 1930, this pamphlet is one of several written by Trotsky warning about the menace of Hitlerism and proposing united working class action to fight it.

20 cents

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...Militant Fund Has Best Week

(Continued from Page 1)

associates were defending the Bolshevik program of international socialism against the Stalinist abandonment of it.

"The National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, James P. Cannon, began by reminiscing about his 45 years as a working journalist for the radical press. At various times he had been editor of six different journals, beginning with a pre-World War I IWW paper. 'Of all these, I am most proud of my continuous association with the Militant,' he declared.

"He told of the key role played by the Militant in helping to educate and organize, not only the socialist vanguard in this country, but pioneer Trotskyist groups in a series of countries extending from England to China.

"Nowadays the Militant has its critics. These say that we did not support the imperialists in their wars. We acknowledge this. What good is a socialist organ that opposes the capitalist regime only in peace time and then neglects its duty when war comes?"

"Our critics also say that the Militant is sectarian. This is not true. While we stick by our principles, we have always been willing to collaborate with others for any progressive purpose, as we have just demonstrated in the united socialist tickets."

"The third accusation is that we dared tell the truth about Stalinism before it was time. We admit that we did not wait for Khrushchev to give us permission. It is always timely to tell the truth to the workers and the Militant will continue to do that."

\$700 CONTRIBUTED

The audience of 140 responded enthusiastically to the speakers and gave \$700 in contributions and payments on previously-made pledges.

Minneapolis-St. Paul sent in \$144 and the announcement that they are planning a 30th Anniversary Banquet for Dec. 13. That will give them just two days to clean up the dishes and get the money to us before the Fund's Dec. 15 deadline.

S. Contin, fund director in Boston, sent in \$60, which keeps the Hub of the Universe among the scoreboard elite, and commented, "Won't be long before we complete our quota."

From Connecticut came \$95, part of which was given by a young Militant reader whose job has taken him away from home but who returned for a visit. "When I told him his friends needed financial help," the local fund director writes, "he gave me \$20 and said he was glad to help."

A letter from Denver promises: "All the money is pledged. It will be in before Dec. 15th." Then comes a list of the activities which have kept the Militant's Colorado friends up to their ears in socialist work and which has delayed payments on their fund quota.

DESPITE ILLNESS

The Militant's supporters both in Pittsburgh and in the South have been plagued with a number of serious illnesses and other misfortunes. As everyone knows under the "Free Enterprise" system it's not bad enough to be sick and hospitalized and have other troubles but these are all automatically compounded into financial troubles. We are happy to learn that both in Pittsburgh and the South the worst seems to be over for our friends. From the former has come a first payment and from the latter a pledge to do the utmost.

As stated at the beginning of this column, the \$1,935 received this week is the highest so far in the fund drive. Whereas the schedule calls for 8% of the \$18,000 goal to be received weekly, this came to 11%, which cuts down the lag accordingly. But the fund still remains 11% behind schedule. This has to be made up quickly if the fund is to finish in full and on time. Only four more weeks remain!

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Suggests Name

For New Party

Editor:
As a sponsor of the Cleveland Conference of American Socialists, I am interested in seeing the conference establish or contribute largely to the foundation of a national united socialist ballot party for the 1960 presidential elections. Not that I am for running Left candidates for president and governor all the time. I hold that the socialist movement should be built from the bottom up instead, from the grass roots, where the Socialist candidate for councilman and alderman will be known more personally by the voters and thus his socialist views can be gotten across more intimately. . . .

I am for calling the new party the "Cooperative Commonwealth Party" because the name "Socialist" only means to Americans big government, and all-powerful state, and the tyranny of the USSR. Not that I think we should try to fool the voters with different names, as the Stalinists try to do with their various fronts ("Progressive Party," "People's Rights Party") as that would be suicide. It is the reputation that counts, and such a party would clearly have a socialist reputation, no matter what its name. But "Cooperative Commonwealth Party" would explain to the public what we mean by Socialism. It is attractive to both the idealistic and the practical-minded alike. It reeks with democracy, with equal-

itarianism and fundamental social change, yet holds a promise of order, peace and abundance in a troubled, unjust and chaotic world.

As it has been used previously only by Western Europeans and Canadians, it would be new to Americans, whereas there is nothing fresh and appealing in the name "Socialist" which has been used steadily these many years on the ballot by the SLP, SP-SDF and SWP with no results. Also it might enable principled liberals and labor union officers, as well as the rank and file, to support and even join, the new party. If we work hard enough at it, it might help us in gaining at least the partial support of whole unions like the ILWU and MESA. . . .

I know I can depend on the SWP and the Militant for helping to work out a good program for the new party, and I hope readers of the Militant will discuss this question regarding the name and will concur with me and others who favor this idea.

George L.
Pennsylvania

Idea Overboard! (In Verse)

Editor:

The following is a bit of satire on long and gabby executive board meetings.

A little idea in my cranium stored
Kicked around like a flea in a gourd,
Tenderly, I carried him to the Board.

Now ideas to me are a novelty,
I was as proud, as proud could be
As I unveiled him for all to see.

Words waxed hot and a bit profane
As I defended him with might and main,
With metaphors mixed and grammar slain.

Oh, what a thrill a fight affords
When we cross our verbal swords
And the idea drowns in a sea of words.

Jack Wright,
Seattle

New Cannibalism

Editor:

. . . I would tell you that there is no profit in competition, and thus that there is no pure net profit in American competitive society. And you would think me wrong, for every day you see some men growing wealthy and corporations making profits. But that which you see is merely profiteering and economic buccaneering.

The profit system is merely economic cannibalism with one man to consume the substance of another man by economic means. The strong prey upon the weak. It is the survival of the fittest with the weak to be eliminated by economic means. Unemployed people are not just unemployed — they are eliminated people.

F. O.
Paola, Kansas

L.A. United Socialists Hold First Symposium

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — The newly formed United Socialist Political Action Committee sponsored its first public symposium here Oct. 30 with a discussion on "A Socialist Answer to Bi-Partisan War Policy in Asia." The speakers were Martin Hall, author and lecturer; Carl Feingold, Los Angeles organizer, Socialist Workers Party; and Herbert Rosenfeld, president of the Southern California Chapter of the American Humanist Society. Milton Zaslow presided.

Hall, the principal speaker of the evening, is an active member of the USPAC. An anti-fascist fighter, he was a member of the German underground movement against Hitler from 1933 to 1937.

Discussing the Formosa crisis, Hall said, "We watch these events with the fascination of a person watching a madman with a knife ready to cut the world to pieces."

UNSINKABLE CARRIER

Formosa is viewed by the U.S. as a "very nice unsinkable aircraft carrier," he said, and the U.S. has not gone to war over Quemoy only because of the declaration by the USSR that it would defend China and because the U.S. military allies refused to be dragged into a suicidal adventure. Recalling that the Democratic Party policy in Korea was as bad as the present Republican brinkmanship in Formosa, he said "the only way out is for the labor movement to rise up and organize toward socialism."

Rosenfeld charged that those really guilty of "subversion" in this country are the architects

of foreign policy. Pointing to the fact that 88% of U.S. foreign aid is really military aid, he urged a complete reconstitution of the American political structure.

Feingold declared the Chinese revolution the greatest event since the 1917 Russian Revolution and explained that the victory of the Chinese revolution had thrown a major monkey wrench into U.S. war plans. Discussing a socialist peace program, Feingold said socialists have the job of rallying the workers for independent, anti-capitalist struggle. Urging the unity of all socialists who oppose the bi-partisan foreign policy, he said, "every vote for capitalist candidates is a vote for a rifle to Chiang Kai-shek."

Reuben Borough who was unable to chair the meeting as scheduled because of illness. The meeting adopted a resolution protesting U.S. intervention in the Far East and another demanding an immediate halt to nuclear tests, citing the recent dangerous increase in fallout here as a result of the Nevada tests.

The USPAC announced that it is forming socialist study classes and that it is aiming at establishment of a permanent socialist school. The committee also announced it is laying plans for participation in the local elections next spring.

Worker's Bookshelf

OUT OF THE DEPTHS. by Berron S. Beshoar. 372 p. Cloth. \$3.00 plus 15 cents postage.

An absorbing and detailed account of the events leading up to the Ludlow massacre which shocked the world before World War I. The class struggle in its most naked form is shown here as is the relationship of the Rockefellers to their coal miner employees in Colorado.

BILL HAYWOOD'S BOOK. An Autobiography. 368 p. Cloth. \$3.50 plus 15 cents postage.

This colorful, vigorous man was an outstanding personality and leader of the Industrial Workers of the World. Everyone interested in the history of American labor will be interested in this great and heroic figure in the turbulent period before World War I.

MARITIME. A Historical Sketch and a Workers Program. By Frederick J. Lang. 171 p. Paper. Formerly \$1.00. Now 50 cents plus ten cents postage.

Written during the war in 1943 with the purpose of showing seamen how and why they have been caught in the net of government regimentation way ahead of other industrial workers, and to show the only way out of the net. Its permanent

value lies in showing the role of the maritime industry in international relations, and its place as part of the industry of the country.

LABOR: FREE AND SLAVE. By Bernard Mendel. 256 p. Cloth. \$1.00 plus 15 cents postage.

An original work that clears up for the first time the problem of where white workers and their organizations stood on the fight against slavery. An invaluable book for students of labor and Negro history.

AMERICAN LABOR STRUGGLES. by Samuel Yellen. 398 p. Paper. \$1.95.

For those unacquainted with American labor history this is an excellent book to begin with. Union members should read it to learn how unionism was built in America, and socialists will find it not only a storehouse of information but also an invaluable tool.

MARXISM IN THE UNITED STATES. by Leon Trotsky. 44 p. 35 cents.

A close observer of American social and political developments, Trotsky wrote this important work as the introduction to the book, "Living Thoughts of Karl Marx."

New York Bazaar

There will be an unusually wide selection of gift items at low prices at the Annual Christmas Bazaar to be held Saturday, Dec. 13, from noon on, at 116 University Place, New York.

A partial selection includes: hand made leather belts, jewelry, rope beads, Virgin Island straw baskets, children's toys and books, women's and children's clothes, hand made aprons, hats, steam irons, waffle irons, radios and other appliances, books, cosmetics, perfumes, ceramics, men's clothing and a special "thrift department."

Calendar Of Events

NEW YORK

Attend a FALL FESTIVAL, Saturday, Nov. 29, 9 P.M., at 116 University Place, Music, dancing, refreshments. Contrib. 50 cents. Aup.: Militant Labor Forum.

HOLD THIS DATE — Friday, Dec. 5, 8 P.M., William F. Warde, Chairman, Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party, speaks on national perspectives for united socialist political action and reports on socialist regroupment developments in California. PLUS — A report on the Cleveland united socialist political action conference by Murry Weiss. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. (at 13th St.) Contrib. — \$1.00. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

MOUNTAIN SPRING CAMP Enjoy a sumptuous Thanksgiving turkey dinner with all the trimmings at this camp in the lovely Pocono foothills. The cost — only \$2.25. Children, \$1.50. For reservations, phone AL 5-7852 in New York, or MUrray 9-1352 at Mountain Spring Camp, RD 1, Washington, N.J.

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Socialist Workers Party

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WHAT IT STANDS FOR

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VOLUME XXII

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Office Workers Strike Auto Plant



When 8,000 office and engineering employees of Chrysler Corporation went on strike in Detroit, Nov. 13, production workers refused to cross their picket lines. The salaried employees, members of the UAW, settled the strike after five days on the bricks.

. . . Internat'l-Harvester

(Continued from Page 1)

ing drastic, downward revision of its old contract.

The mass response to the first picket line indicates that the workers have no intention of accepting anything less than an improved contract.

The strike has been "pending" since July when the old contract expired and a strike vote was overwhelmingly voted by the membership. When the union finally served the five-day notice of termination of the agreement, the workers viewed the strike deadline as "it's about time." The Chicago Daily News, reflecting the company's views, printed a strike story with a headline foreseeing a "long strike." It is possible that some of the company's arrogance towards its workers comes from its overextended inventories. The company asked for this showdown, but the militancy of the workers indicates that the company may get more than it bargained for.

During the period of the extension of the old contract, one of the reasons given by the union leadership for dallying with the company's refusal to bargain seriously was to "wait until after the November elections." Despite the landslide vote to the Democrats, Mayor Daley acted, as usual, on behalf of the I-H Company by

having an army of over 300 police protecting whatever rights the company may fear are being threatened by the strike.

Last Sept. 21, Local 1301 sent a resolution to Daley requesting that Chicago stop singling out the labor movement "as a group that needs special attention from Barnes (head of the 'Labor Detail') and his local Storm Troopers." However, while another police officer was formally in charge at the strike scene, the strikers were angered at seeing Barnes present and apparently acting as usual.

RECESSION COST

"At the very least this recession will cost \$80 billion in goods and services we could have produced and didn't. . . . That's the equivalent of about ten years of foreign aid or seven or eight years spending on higher education in this country." Quote from John P. Lewis, professor of business administration at Indiana University.

THE HARD SELL

"Constructive nagging" by salesmen's wives is encouraged by the Admiral Corporation, TV manufacturers, who are offering diamond rings to the wives of top-rating salesmen.

Retreat of Segregationists Seen in Va. School Fight

By Lillian Kiezal

Governor Almond of Virginia continues to call for "massive resistance" to school integration. However, steps toward token compliance with the Supreme Court's anti-segregation rulings are shaping up in that state.

"Massive resistance" was invoked to keep 51 Negro children from being integrated in nine lily-white Virginia schools. Using the state's school-closing laws, Almond shut six schools in Norfolk, two in Charlottesville, and one in Front Royal at the end of September thus locking out approximately 13,000 white students.

A shift in policy is now indicated by a change of line in Virginia's top segregationist newspapers. The Times-Dispatch and News-Leader of Richmond editorially urged a "new approach" following consultation of the editors with Governor Almond. The Nov. 15 News Leader proposed that operation of integrated schools be permitted in any community where a majority of the voters approved of it through referendum.

SEGREGATIONISTS RETREAT

This proposal constitutes a retreat on the part of segregationists largely due to mounting opposition to the school-closing among white parents and teachers in the cities affected. Another important factor is that there is a good possibility the school-closing laws would be held unconstitutional by the courts.

White parents are responsible for two suits now pending against Almond and the State of Virginia. In Norfolk, 26 parents filed suit on Oct. 27 to force reopening of the city's schools. Another suit was filed by a white parent asking the court to open schools in all three cities. On Oct. 29, the NAACP filed a third suit in which they asked that the Norfolk schools be reopened to admit 17 Negro pupils assigned to them by Federal court order. The first case will be heard before a three-judge Federal Court in Norfolk this week.

An "informational referendum" was staged in Norfolk on Nov. 18 to "inform" the rabidly segregationist City Council of the public's opinion of reopen-

WDL Protests Appointment

On Nov. 7 the Workers Defense League protested the appointment of Jackson E. Spears as Chairman of the annual fund drive of the Foreign Policy Association. Spears is a Vice-President of Burlington Mills, a firm that resorts to anti-Semitism in combatting unions in its plants. As an official of Burlington Mills, Spears shares responsibility for the circulation of a leaflet describing Arthur Spingarn, President of the NAACP, as "The Jew who has headed that trouble-making organization. . . ."

Another leaflet distributed in one of Burlington's 40 Southern plants bore the caricature of an ugly carpetbagger captioned "The NAACP sent me down here to desegregate you trashy bastards." This virulent racist propaganda was used to defeat an organizing drive of the Textile Workers Union.

In Little Rock five of the six members of the Board of Education resigned on Nov. 12. They had originally been in favor of minimum compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court.

Last week the Board was caught between a permanent injunction from the Circuit Court which ordered them to take positive action toward resuming the school's integrated status and the fact that they

would have to fight Governor Faubus who has stood firm in his refusal to open the schools.

The only remaining member of the Board is Dr. Dale Alford, a puppet of Faubus and an outspoken segregationist. He was the write-in Congressional candidate in the Nov. 4 elections who defeated incumbent Representative Brooks Hays. Hays, a segregationist now being touted as a "moderate" can be considered such only relative to Faubus' stooge, Alford. The Arkansas Governor backed Alford with the full weight of his political machine in order to get his direct representative in Congress.

SIX VACANCIES

Alford will be leaving for Washington soon so that all six seats on the Board of Education will be vacated. Fourteen candidates are in the race for the Board which will be decided on Dec. 6. Five of them are running as a slate backed by a group of business men. They declared that they would "not voluntarily integrate" schools.

James T. Karam, close friend of Faubus, was one of the first announced candidates. Karam was prominent in directing the activities of a white racist mob which assaulted Negroes in front of Central High School on Sept. 23, 1957. He has also headed a professional strike-breaking agency — disguised as a Veterans Industrial Association. This organization — formed in 1946 — was active in Arkansas, Florida, Texas, and Louisiana. It was financed by business men and pledged to combat "foreign dominated labor unions that are today keeping our country in grief, torment and strife."

Karam has withdrawn from the race for school board on the request "of a close friend." The "close friend" perhaps felt that Karam was too crass a symbol of the type of element that people such as Faubus like to have on school boards and in Congress.

40 Yrs. Ago: German Revolution Began

By John Black

After four years of imperialist mass murder, disease, hunger and untold misery for the working class—of suffering that contrasted so glaringly with the enormous profits of the munition makers and other capitalists—the German Revolution broke out forty years ago.

The outbreak of the first world war had witnessed the betrayal of the organized German labor movement by most of its Social Democratic leadership, who went into the service of German imperialism and supported the war.

Only a handful of steadfast, international socialists, gathered around such leaders as Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Leo Jogiches and Franz Mehring, held aloft the banner of working class struggle and internationalism. This small group was organized in the tendency "Internationale," also known as the Spartakus group—so named after their fiery tracts, the Spartakus letters. It kept the spark of revolutionary socialism glowing in the ranks of the German working class.

The spark first burst into hesitant flame in the anti-war demonstrations in Berlin, May 1, 1916, leading to the arrest and jailing of Karl Liebknecht. The victory of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia fanned the flame. January 1918, mass strikes of the munitions workers in Germany led to the first open clashes of demonstrating workers with the police, in the working-class districts of Berlin. Street fighting in the Wedding and Moabit areas, with the overturning of street cars and casualties on both sides, was brought to an end only by the intervention of the Emperor's loyal opposition, the Social Democratic leaders.

'BOLSHIEVISM' DISEASE

By the fall of 1918, the imperial army's General Staff was aware that the end was near. To meet the Allied offensive in the west, German troops stationed in the east would have to be transferred. The "Bolshevik disease" which had infected those regiments exposed to



ROSA LUXEMBOURG



KARL LIEBKNECHT

Bolshevik political propaganda would be spread through the wavering ranks of the army.

The imperial navy, the Emperor's pride, was anchored in port, bottled up by the British navy. The German naval command decided on a gesture, to sail out and meet the enemy in certain defeat. But the sailors refused to die in vain gestures for the honor of the officers. In Kiel they revolted, seized the ships, and hoisted the red flag. The sailors' revolt received immediate support from longshoremen and other workers in the port cities of the German waterfront and joint councils of sailors and workers took political power in most of the major coastal cities within days. Soldiers stationed in these areas elected representatives and joined the Councils.

The spirit of these Councils can be gauged by the proclamation of the Hamburg Workers and Soldiers Council on Nov. 8, which ended with the ringing call: "This is the beginning of the German revolution and the world revolution! Long live socialism! Long live the German workers republic! Long live world Bolshevism!"

By the evening of Nov. 7, the revolution had spread to the large industrial inland cit-

ies. Councils had taken power in Braunschweig, Hanover, Cologne and Munich. Wherever the sailors, envoys of the Kiel Councils arrived, they were met by enthusiastic masses of armed workers and soldiers. Councils mushroomed.

On Nov. 9, the capital city of the German Empire, Berlin followed suit. Workers armed themselves and under the leadership of the Spartakists marched to the army barracks. In short order the soldiers handed over their officers and arms to the revolutionary masses and joined them. By the end of that day the red flag waved over the castle, over Parliament, over Berlin.

LAST STRONGHOLD FALLS

The last armed stronghold of reaction in Berlin fell that day. The revolutionaries stormed the city's police headquarters and released 650 political prisoners incarcerated there. A left-socialist metal worker, Eichhorn, was installed as chief of police. That day the first issue of the newspaper, The Red Flag, appeared on the streets of Berlin. Published in the plant of a seized capitalist paper, the first page carried the account of the victorious revolution in the Capital. The rest of the issue consisted of pages of the

capitalist paper that had already been set up. Thus in one issue the paper mirrored the end of the imperial rule and the beginning of Council rule.

But even while the German workers, embittered by their experiences and inspired by the example of the Russian Revolution, were striving to grasp the political power into their own hands, the cowardly top leaders of the organized labor movement were plotting inside the Parliament building how to salvage capitalist rule.

Fearing the workers more than the reactionary army officer corps, they were busy working out a deal that would enable them to turn back the revolutionary tide and to crush it.

Since that day, memoirs have revealed the whole sordid story of conspiracy by the Social Democratic leaders with the General Staff of the army. With the masses demanding the establishment of a socialist republic, these men were not even willing to support demands for the Kaiser's abdication. But word reached the Social Democratic leaders in Parliament that Karl Liebknecht had issued a call for a mass meeting at which he would proclaim the Workers Republic. Then they saw tens of thousands of workers and soldiers streaming past the Parliament building to the announced meeting place. Only then was one of them, Scheidemann, prevailed upon to step out on the

balcony. In a desperate attempt to stem the tide to Liebknecht, he proclaimed the Kaiser's abdication, the fall of the imperial government and the formation of a Labor government headed by the conservative Social Democrat Ebert.

HEAD TO BEHEAD

The pressure of the masses on the Social Democratic leaders was great. They could not oppose the revolution out-right. The next best thing was to agree to head and lead the movement, break its momentum and then crush it at a later date with the aid of the reassembled forces of reaction.

On Nov. 9, 1918, few would have believed that the mighty, popular rising of workers could be halted. The Councils had power in their hands and with the flight of the Emperor and the collapse of his state machinery, the Councils had to use the power.

The working class and the revolutionary soldiers and sailors, wanted what the Spartakists wanted: peace, socialism and a German workers republic. Within two short months they would see their hopes dashed, their leaders dead, thousands in jail and the right-wing Social Democrats backed by a hard core of professional soldiers firmly in power. The how and why of this subsequent defeat is material for a later article. The study of this defeat should be a part of the education of every revolutionary socialist.

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